

# WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

## THE

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## The Axe to the Root.

By the Late James Connolly.

(Continued.)  
FATAL ERRORS.

Now, let me apply this reading of history to the development of the working class under capitalism, and find out what lesson it teaches us of value in our present struggle. Passing by the growth of the working class under nascent capitalism, as it belongs more to the period I have just dealt with than to the present subject, and taking up working-class history from the point marked by the introduction of machinery to supplant hand labor—a perfectly correct standpoint for all practical purposes—we find, in the then attitude of the workers, an exemplification of the historical fidelity of our conception. Suffering from the miseries attendant upon machine labor, the displacement of those supplanted, and the scandalous overworking of those retained, the workers rioted and rebelled in a mad effort to abolish machinery and restore the era of hand labor. In a word, they strove to revert to past conditions, and their most popular orators and leaders were they who pictured in most glowing terms the conditions prevalent in the days of their fathers.

They were thus on the same mental plane as those mediæval peasants who, in their revolt, were fired by the hope of restoring the primitive commune. And just as in the previously cited case, the inevitable failure of this attempt to reconstruct the past was followed in another generation by movements which accepted the social order of their day as permanent, and looked upon their social status as wage slaves as fixed and immutable in the eternal order of things. To this category belongs the trade union movement in all its history. As the struggles of the serfs and burghers in the Middle Ages were directed to no higher aim than the establishing of better relations between the struggling classes and their feudal overlords, as during those ages the division of society into ruling classes of king, lords, and church, resting upon a basis of the serfdom of the producers, was accepted by all, in spite of the perpetual recurrences of civil wars between the various classes, so, in capitalist society, the trade unionists, despite strikes, lockouts, and black lists, accepted the employing class as part and parcel of a system which was to last through all eternity.

### The All-Important Issues.

The rise of Industrial Unionism is the first sign that that—the second stage of the mental evolution of our class—is rapidly passing away. And the fact that it had its inception amongst men actually engaged in the work of trade union organisation, and found its inspiration in a recognition of the necessities born of the struggles of the workers, and not in the theories of any political party—this fact is the most cheering sign of the legitimacy of its birth, and the most hopeful augury of its future. For we must not forget that it is not the theorists who makes history; it is history in its evolution that makes the theorists. And the roots of history are to be found in the workshops, fields and factories. It has been remarked that Belgium was the cockpit of Europe because within its boundaries have been fought out many of the battles between the old dynasties; in like manner, we can say that the workshop is the cockpit of civilisation, because in the workshop have been, and will be, fought out those battles between the new and the old methods of production, the issues of which change the face and the history of the world.

### Revolutionary Capitalism.

I have said that the capitalist class became a revolutionary class when it realised that it held control of the economic heart of the nation. I may add, when the working class is in the same position, it will also, as a class, become revolutionary.

It will also give effective political expression to its economic strength. The capitalist class grew into a political party when it looked around and found itself in control of the things needed for the life of the individual and the State, when it saw that the ships carrying the commerce of the nation were its own, when it saw that the internal traffic of the nation was in the hands of its agents, when it saw that the feeding, clothing, and sheltering of the ruling class depended upon the activities of the subject class, when it saw itself applied to furnish finance to equip the armies and fleets of the kings and nobles—in short, when the capitalist class found that all the arteries of commerce, all the agencies of production, all the mainsprings of life, in fact, passed through their hands, as blood flows through the human heart—then, and only then, did capital raise the banner of political revolt, and from a class battling for concessions became a class leading its forces to the mastery of society at large.

### The Echo—Not the Reality.

This leads me to the last axiom of which I wish you to grasp the significance. It is this, that the fight for the conquest of the political State is not the battle; it is only the echo of the battle. The real battle is the battle being fought out every day for the power to control industry, and the gauge of the progress of that battle is not to be found in the number of voters making a cross beneath the symbol of a political party, but in the number of those workers who enrol themselves in an industrial organisation with the definite purpose of making themselves masters of the industrial equipment of society in general.

That battle will have its political echo, that industrial organisation will have its political expression. If we accept the definition of working class political action as that which brings the workers as a class into direct conflict with the possessing class AS A CLASS, and keeps them there, then we must realise that NOTHING CAN DO THAT SO READILY AS ACTION AT THE BALLOT BOX. Such action strips the working class movement of all traces of sectionalism as may, and indeed must, cling to strikes and lockouts, and emphasises the class character of the Labor Movement. IT IS, THEREFORE, ABSOLUTELY INDISPENSABLE FOR THE EFFICIENT TRAINING ALONG CORRECT LINES THAT ACTION AT THE BALLOT BOX SHOULD ACCOMPANY ACTION IN THE WORKSHOP.

### Unionism and Socialism.

I am convinced that this will be the ultimate formation of the fighting hosts of Labor. The workers will be industrially organised on the economic field, and until that organisation is perfected, whilst the resultant feeling of class-consciousness is permeating the minds of the workers, the Socialist Party will carry on an independent campaign of education and attack upon the political field, and, as a consequence, will remain the sole representative of the Socialist idea in politics. But, as industrial organisation grows, feels its strength, and develops the revolutionary instincts of its members, there will grow also the desire for a closer union and identification of the two wings of the army of Labor. Any attempt prematurely to force this identification would only defeat its own purpose, and be fraught with danger alike to the economic and the political wing. Yet it is certain that such attempts will be of continual recurrence, and multiply in proportion to the dissatisfaction felt at the waste of energy involved in the division of forces. Statesmanship of the highest kind will be required to see that this union shall take place only under the proper conditions and at the proper moment for effective action.

must be kept in mind—viz., that a Socialist Political Party not emanating from the ranks of organised Labor is, as Karl Marx phrased it, simply a Socialist sect, ineffective for the final revolutionary act, but that, also, the attempt of craft organised unions to create political unity before they have laid the foundation of industrial unity in their own, the economic field would be an instance of putting the cart before the horse. But when that foundation of industrial union is finally secured, then nothing can prevent the union of the economic and political forces of Labor. I look forward to the time when every economic organisation will have its Political Committee, just as it has its Organisation Committee or its Strike Committee, and when it will be counted to be as great a crime, as much an act of seaberry, to act against the former as against any of the latter. When that time comes we will be able to count our effective vote before troubling the official ballot box, simply by counting our membership in the allied organisations; we will be able to estimate our capacity for the revolutionary act of Social Transformation simply by taking stock of the number of industries we control and their importance relative to the whole social system, and when we find that we control the strategic industries in society, then society must bend to our will—or break. In our organisations we will have Woman Suffrage, whether governments like it or not; we will also have, in our own organisations, a pure and uncorrupted ballot, and if the official ballot of capitalist society does not purify itself of its own accord, its corruption can only serve to blind the eyes of our enemies, and not to hide our strength from ourselves.

### Forged by, of, and for the Worker.

Compare the political action of such a body with that of any party we know. Political parties are composed of men and women who meet together to formulate a policy and programme to vote upon. They set up a political ticket in the hope of getting people, most of whom they do not know, to vote for them, and when that vote is at last cast, it is cast by men whom they have not organised, do not know, and cannot rely upon to use in their own defence. We have proven, that such a body can make propaganda, and good propaganda, for Socialist principles, but it can never function as the weapon of an industrially organised working class. To it, such a party will always be an outside body, a body not under its direct control, but the political weapon of the Industrially Organised Working Class will be a weapon of its own forging, and wielded by its own hand. I believe it to be incumbent upon organised Labor to meet the capitalist class upon every field where it can operate to our disadvantage. Therefore, I favor direct attacks upon the control of governmental powers through the ballot box, but I wish to see these attacks supported by the economic organisation. In short, I believe that there is no function performed by a separate political party that the economic organisation cannot help it perform much better and with greater safety to working class interests. Let us be clear as to the function of Industrial Unionism. That function is to build up an Industrial Republic inside the shell of the political State, in order that, when the Industrial Republic is fully organised, it may crack the shell of the political State and step into its place in the scheme of the universe. But in the process of up-building, during the period of maturing, the mechanism of the political State can be utilised to assist in the formation of the embryo Industrial Republic. Or, to change the analogy we might liken the position of the Industrial Republic, in its formative period towards political society, to the position of the younger generation towards the generation passing away. The younger accepts the achievements of the old, but gradually acquires strength to usurp its functions until the new generation is able to abandon the paternal household and erect its own. While doing so, it utilises to the fullest all the privileges of its position. So the Industrial Unionist will function in a double capacity in his position as a

citizen in a given geographical area, he will use his political voting power in attacks upon the political system of capitalism, and in his position as a member of the Industrial Union he will help in creating the economic power which, in the fullness of time, will overthrow that political system, and replace it by the Industrial Republic.

My contentions along these lines do not imply, by any means, that I regard immediate action at the ballot box by the economic organisation as essential, although I may regard it as advisable. As I have already indicated, the proletarian revolution will, in that respect, most likely follow the lines of the capitalist revolutions in the past.

In Cromwellian England, in Colonial America, in Revolutionary France, the real political battle did not begin until after the bourgeoisie, the capitalist class, had become the dominant class in the nation. Then they sought to conquer political power, in order to allow their economic power to function freely. It was no mere coincidence, but a circumstance born of the very nature of things, woven, so to speak, in the warp and woof of fate, that in all the three countries the signal for the revolution was given by the ruling class touching the bourgeoisie in the one part that was calculated to arouse them as a class, and at the same time demonstrate their strength. That one sensitive part was their finance, their ownership of the sinews of war. In England it was over the question of taxes, of ship money, that Hampden first raised the standard of revolt, whose last blow was struck at Whitehall, when the King's head rolled in the gutter. In America it was over the question of taxes, and again the capitalist class were united, until a new nation was born to give them power. In France, it was the failure of the King to raise taxes that led to the convocation of the States-General, which assembly first revealed to the French capitalists their power as a class, and set their feet upon the revolutionary path. In all three countries the political rebellion was but the expression of the will of a class already in possession of economic power. This is in conformity with the law of human evolution, that the new system can never overthrow the old until it itself is fully matured and able to assume all the useful functions of the thing it is to dethrone.

In the light of such facts, and judging by such reasoning, we need not exercise our souls over the question of the date of the appearance of the Industrial Organisations of Labor upon the electoral field. Whether we believe, as I believe, that the electoral field offers it opportunities, it would be criminal to ignore, or believe, as some do, that electoral action on the part of the economic organisations is at present premature, one thing can be agreed upon, if we accept the outline of history I have just sketched, viz., that it is necessary to remember that, at the present stage of development, all actions of our class at the ballot box are in the nature of mere preliminary skirmishes, or educational campaigns, and that the conquest of political power by the working class waits upon the conquest of economic power, and must function through the economic organisation.

Hence, reader, if you belong to the working class, your duty is clear. Your union must be perfected until it embraces everyone who toils in the service of your employer, or as a unit in your industry. The fact that your employers find it necessary to secure the services of any individual worker is, or ought to be, that individual's highest and best title to be a member of your union. If the boss needs him, you need him more. You need the open union and the closed shop if you ever intend to control the means and conditions of life. And, as the champion of your class upon the political field, as the ever-active propagandist of the idea of the Working Class as the representative and embodiment of the social principle of the future, you need the Socialist Party. The Future of Labor is bound up with the harmonious development of those twin expressions of the forces of progress; the Freedom of Labor will be born of their happily consummated union.

(The End.)

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## Once Again.

## THE CONSCRIPTION MENACE.

C. F. C.

A year ago the excitement aroused through the conscription issue was just dying down. Conscription for service abroad had been turned down and Labor triumphant, having joyfully assured itself that conscription was dead, lapsed into its old apathy. The papers gave their assurances, the politicians signed their names to statements asserting that the issue would not again be raised. Thus there was no need for the workers to worry.

But things have happened since. The capitalist groups had supplied the financial backing for the conscription propaganda, because they knew that the safeguarding of THEIR economic (industrial and trade) interests made it ESSENTIAL that Labor and Labor's economic organisations be rendered practically powerless. Why is this a vital necessity for the Capitalists?

Let us review a little. During the wars of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, and for many years following, England had control of the world market. Modern capitalism developed in England between the years 1770-1800, and was made possible by the utilisation of the series of the great machine inventions of that period known historically as the Industrial Revolution. For years and years, England out-distanced all competitors. But the war-weary Continental nations followed in her wake, and slowly became formidable rivals. America joined in the market hunt, and the rise of modern Germany as a capitalist country caused the market-fight to become still keener. Japan is now full-fledged in the same sense, while China is moving in the same direction. "Sphere of influence" (trading regions) have been eagerly sought, and the ends of the earth have been exploited as markets for the floods of commodities produced by the workers using the ever more gigantic machines of production—COMMODITIES UNPURCHASEABLE BY THE PRODUCTIVE WORKERS whose wage pittance represents only a fraction of the values they create.

It is clear that in the future capitalist competition—the root cause of the present war—will be keener than ever before, and that nation which can sell its commodities most cheaply, must win out in the trade game. Thus THE KEEPING OF THE HOME MARKET AND THE MARKETS ABROAD demands that the workers be placed in such a position that they will produce as cheaply as possible; in other words, the workers' position MUST be such (from the Capitalist viewpoint) that their PAY will be SHORT and their HOURS LONG.

E. W. Knox, General Manager of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company Co., in his annual report (Sydney "Daily Telegraph," Oct. 31, 1917), said: "Everyone who has followed the proceedings under these (Arbitration) Acts will surely believe that the system will not stand WHEN WAGES MUST BE REDUCED; and WHO CAN HOPE that, in the Commonwealth, WHEN THE WAR ENDS and the cost of it has been realised, THE WAGES RECENTLY FIXED in the VARIOUS BRANCHES OF TRADE WILL BE MAINTAINED."

## The Industrial State.

We have now reached a point where from the history of human development stands forth in clear perspective. In the survey of that perspective that which impresses us most is that the race has passed through one mighty, one fundamental, one revolutionary change in its form of social organisation; and that another change of equal magnitude imminently impends.

We have followed the outlines of the processes through which gentle society was transformed from a system of social organisation founded on ties of consanguinity into a constitution whose structure was reared upon private property and geographical demarcation. We now perceive plainly functioning the forces and processes through which political society is rapidly developing the new order—the Industrial Constitution.

Quickened within the fast rotting integument of the political state, developed and fashioned from the material elements of the older order, and embodying within itself the germs of a loftier type of human institutions, the new constitution, made to conform to modern methods of productions, is struggling to break the shell that yet confines it.

We have come to understand that human progress is epitomised in the science of biology; that all the phenomena of social development are the product of organic evolution; that man has come up out of the sub-human world; that society is the result of ages of growth that our present industrial and social order is but a transitory phase in the functioning of processes that are determined by laws that admit of no repeal; that each and all of us live and die as factors employed by a power we but imperfectly understand towards fulfilling a destiny we can only guess at.

Material environment has compelled the

Is that clear enough?

To help bring about the further servitude in the ranks of the working class the "Speeding Up" System (which, when enforced, is equivalent to lengthening the hours of labor) has been successfully introduced into the Government tramways and railways. This gives official consent to its wholesale introduction.

But the king-pin sleep producer to working class organisations and to working class power is CONSCRIPTION. The lessons supplied by England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and other countries in the breaking of strikes—by using conscripts as strike breakers and bullet distributors—have not been lost on the capitalist class here. They know of the trade competition coming, and they see, for instance, what is going on elsewhere.

"In France," said the late Minister for War, "Unionism is dead." The following facts were given by M. Merheim, of the French Metal Workers' Union. He says:

In France to-day there is:

- (1) A 12-14 hour day in all factories.
- (2) Sunday work—a 7-day working week.
- (3) Cheap women and child labour. Chinese and Portuguese have been introduced in thousands.
- (4) Conscript labour under martial law.
- (5) No limitation of profits while the cost of living has soared upwards, while wages have fallen on the average from a quarter to a half the pre-war figure.
- (6) An obedient working class—gaol or the front trenches for the discontented and the strikers.

Boyd Cable, the Australian writer, says in "Doing Their Bit":—

"At another factory (in Great Britain) there are 7000 girls at work. THEY AVERAGE 87½ HOURS A WEEK. These girls work over 12½ hours seven days per week, or over 14½ hours per day, if they had Sunday off. The manager says they are punctual, keen, tractable and obedient!" Ah! Conscription is fine—for Plute!

This paper does not oppose Conscription on the ground that "Canada has only sent 3½ while WE have sent 4," or because of similar piffle or because of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." We are not even concerned in the military sense, with the likelihood or otherwise of 200,000 conscripted Australians (of the Anzac breed) winning the war, where 28,000,000 have failed. We oppose it, because we know just what is the cause of war, which fact impels us to long for PEACE.

In our next issue we will give further consideration to the proposal to conscribe the robbed class to fight in wars which have their root cause in that working class robbery.

V. Craig, 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

working class to conceive the plan and construct the framework of the order which we believe shall presently develop from the capitalist chrysalis. The plan is founded upon the idea of a democracy in co-operative industry.

This plan differs from that of primitive gentle society which was founded on kinship; it differs from political society founded on property and locality; in its structural form it differs from both in that its system of representation in its form of government is based on the individual's relation to the method of production.

In gentle society production was a communal function for the benefit of all. In political society production is social for the benefit of those who own the means whereby production functions. In Industrial society production and distribution will be a social function, in which all who are willing to share in its duties, may in the same measure, share in the enjoyment of its products.

The plan has been conceived, and the embryonic structure is in process of building.

We have seen that under the constantly changing methods of production in capitalist society the craft system of trade unions, born with the era of machine production and adapted for resistance in only the first stage of economic development consequent upon machine production has become impotent because it failed to develop tactical methods to correspond.

In the new form of labor union, the International Industrial Union, we discover the elements of the social system that is destined to supplant the capitalist one, deriving its strength from the political state. Therefore, to understand the method of governmental administration of Coming Society, we have but to familiarise our minds with the structural plan of the Industrial Union which has taken concrete and organised form in the organisation known as the Workers' International Industrial Union, which brings the workers in every field of activity into harmonious relationship, each with the other, and therefore into that broad unity that makes for universal brotherhood, not only in name but in fact.

In that economic organisation of the working class known as the Industrial Union, and whose integral structure constitutes the embryonic structure of coming society, provision is made for such changes as may be incident to organic social development.

Every part of the Industrial Union bears such an organic relation to all the constituent parts of it as to form an organic unit. It is axiomatic that no structure of any sort is stronger than its weakest part. In the Industrial Union the smallest cell of the organism is so fashioned as to conform to requirements forced upon the wealth producers by the ever-changing developments within the industrial system.

The structure of the Industrial Union conforms to the organised form of modern capitalist industry in such manner as to enable it at the proper time to absorb the industries, and eliminate the capitalists from ownership and convert them into useful workers.

Capitalism in the third stage of its evolutionary development, through specialisation in the division of labor, has grouped the workers into co-operative entities on the basis of industries, each of which constitutes a link in the chain that binds together the entire industrial system.

The Industrial Union organises the workers in these groups, not into crafts, but into subdivisions of the industries and links them all together into a composite whole.

In any given industry are workers. In many different crafts or trades. In the building industry, for instance, are carpenters, masons, plasterers, lathers, electricians, plumbers, structural iron workers, and others, all co-operating in the production of buildings, and often a single building. The Industrial Union organises these different trade or craft divisions of the Building Industry as branches of one industrial union. Thus if the members of any trade or craft are directly affected by an industrial disturbance, that craft being directly concerned makes efforts for a satisfactory settlement. Failing satisfaction the Industrial Union, composed of all the workers on the job, meets and decides on specific action, and whatever determination is arrived at, they proceed to put into effect, as a combined body with similar interests.

In a given locality all the workers of the building industry form a local industrial union

of building workers. These, in turn, are united with the workers in all other industries in the same locality through the industrial district council, made up of delegates from all the various local industrial unions. Thus, by the functioning of the industrial district council, the workers of the entire locality are bound together for united action.

The national industrial union unites all local unions of a given industry throughout the country into one national body. For example, in the textile industry all local industrial unions of textile workers—whether locals of National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, embracing in its plan of organisation all the workers engaged in that industry. The local unions are, of course, subordinate to the National Industrial Union. The functioning of the National Industrial Union means national unity of action on the industrial field of all workers in a given industry.

On a still wider scale, two or more national industrial unions, for example, the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers and the closely allied National Industrial Union of Clothing Workers, form a department. In this case the department of the Textile Industries. The functioning of the department means the broader national unity of allied groups of industries.

Industrial councils for the purpose of establishing general solidarity in a given district and composed of delegates from not less than five local Industrial or Local Recreational Union, function to maintain communication between the given district and general headquarters.

The subdivisions of the Industrial Departments, composed of Industrial and National Industrial Unions have complete industrial autonomy in their respective internal affairs, subject to control by the General Executive Board concerning the interests of the general welfare.

The General Administration, functioning through the General Executive Board, the Annual Convention and the Referendum, binds all the subordinate parts together and compels the links in the chain of industrial solidarity.

The foregoing describes a National Division of the Industrial Union Movement. Each national division in turn forms a link in the chain of International Industrial Union that is to unite the workers of the world for their emancipation.

The Departments of Industries as designated by the Constitution of W. I. I. U. include the following:

- Department of Mining Industry,
- Department of Building Industry,
- Department of Textile Industries,
- Department of Leather Industries,
- Department of Public Service Industries,
- Department of Food-Stuffs Industry,
- Department of Glass and Pottery Industry,
- Department of Miscellaneous Manufacturing,
- Department of Woodworking Industries,
- Department of Brewery, Wine and Distillery Industries,
- Department of Floricultural, Stock, and General Farming Industries.

Thus the new Labor Union, developed by the economic forces in play in capitalist society, and already organised and in action on the industrial field, is discovered to be the present embryo of the Commonwealth of Labor and foreshadows the organic structure of the Industrial State as well as its administrative powers.

The Industrial Union has its eye ever focussed on the goal of the present struggle. And finally, when Might shall have become sufficiently strong to enforce the Right, that by every cannon of Justice belongs to the workers of the world, these workers will, through the new form of government, carry on the management as well as the operation of productive and general social service without special economic privilege to anyone, and with distinguished honors to those who, by their ability and service, earn them.

And then, no longer will the profit-taker—the appropriator of surplus value—stand between the working people and the fruits of their toil.

The working class will have achieved its historic mission, the emancipation of the world from economic class divisions and conflict. In the enjoyment of the full social product of their labor all the people of the world will enter upon a more exalted plane of thought and action, and a higher civilisation, with its accompanying institutions, will prevail. Such will be the Industrial State. Such will be the Society of the future.—"Evolution of Society."—Wardon Horst Mills in "The Industrial Union News," U.S.A.



## Ethics.

### A PRODUCT OF THE MIND OR CONDITIONS?

By Woodicus.

On the 14/10/17 Miss Kathleen Hotson lectured in the A.S.P. Hall, Melbourne, the subject of her lecture being "Tyranny and Freedom."

Miss Hotson, who speaks eloquently, did not disclose even so much as a general knowledge of the philosophy, or economics of Socialism which we expect—nay, demand from a Socialist speaker. While not a canting humbug, deliberately hypocritical for self aggrandisement, Miss Hotson is undoubtedly sincere in her zeal to assist mankind out of their economic quagmire of capitalism. She has yet to learn that sincerity and ability, when not based upon materialism, are achievements useless in the war of the classes, are dangerous, leading the working class into blind alleyways, and over chasms, wrecking the movement on the rocks of Nowhere.

Miss Hotson stated—Ethics are something separate from and precedent to economics. It would be interesting to know how Miss Hotson accounts for ethical changes in different stages of society or the ethics of any one era of production. Her contention that ethics are only the products of the mind is a fallacy. There is no difference between the brain of man to-day and the brain of man a thousand years ago. But the ethics of to-day are unlike the ethics of long gone or recent ages. Like causes, produce like effects. In this instance, ethics are the effects; so it is evident the human brain cannot be the cause. If the human brain were the cause, we would not find a different code of ethics in existence under each era of society, namely, savagery, barbarism and civilisation; there would be one code of ethics durable for all time.

Ethics may be said to be the conduct of man towards men. Generally speaking, man cannot live by himself. He is essentially a social organism. He is moulded, regulated and controlled by his social conditions. Marx puts the position clearly when he stated, "The social conditions determine the consciousness of man, and not the consciousness of man his social conditions." Social conditions rest upon man's method of gaining food, clothing, and shelter. Without food, clothing, and shelter, man cannot exist.

In dealing with ethics, we consider men generally; that is, the average person in society, not the atavist whose eccentricities of character are the outcome of disease or heredity.

Climate and the composition of the crust of the earth have a very slight effect upon ethics, and this small effect is indirect, in that it operates directly upon economics.

Different economics, or to be simpler, different methods of production, when applied to the same natural resources, create different forms of society. For instance, here in Australia, prior to and since the advent of white men, blacks were, and still are, passing away as a race, because boomerang, spear, nulla nulla, etc., are inefficient means of producing the necessities of life. Now the blackfellow made it immoral for the young members to eat certain meat, herbs and roots. Sub-incision is performed on the male blacks to limit the offspring and so not endanger the food supply by having more mouths to feed than the means of production were capable of supplying.

The blackfellow took his aged and infirm into the scrub and killed them. The white man pays his aged people a pension to keep them alive as long as possible. To kill his old folk is an awful thing in the eyes of a white man, but quite just and moral in the mind of the blackfellow. So it is here under southern skies, we have good evidence to support Dietzgen in his Positive Outcome of Philosophy, wherein he states, "Reason cannot discover within itself any positive rights or absolute moral codes any more than any other speculative truth."

In this land, where the blackfellow perishes, we have a white race as virile, healthy, and intelligent as any race under the sun, who are increasing in numbers. The whites of this country have the same five senses as the blacks; also the one great desire, the desire to live; but their morals are different. Their methods of production yield them so much that they have no need to systemat-

Comrade J. O. Moroney occupied the chair, and called upon Comrade E. E. Judd, of the S.L.P., to open the debate.

#### A. S. REARDON FOR THE A.S.P.

Comrade Chairman, Comrade Judd, Comrades, and friends.

Before commencing I must really thank Mr. Judd for what he said about my being a clever-speaker and debater. If it be so, 'tis the first time I have ever heard of it. I have been deeply interested in this question of Unity. No man can be a Scientific Socialist unless he believes in the unification of the forces that are making for the emancipation of the working class. (Hear, hear.) It is now twelve months since I resigned from the Socialist Labor Party, and as it may be of interest during this discussion on Unity, I will take the opportunity of reading my resignation:—

15th October, 1916.

Mr. J. Eather,  
Sec., Sydney Branch, S.L.P.

Dear Comrade,

Being opposed to the S.L.P.'s attitude re Unity, and fully endorsing the action of Melbourne Comrades in seceding, being in fact partly responsible for said action, insofar as that I moved the amendment in Melbourne Branch insisting on the Party again attempting to bring about Unity, I herewith beg to tender my resignation from the S.L.P. The ultra-conservative stand adopted by the Party, together with the refusal to publish correspondence on Unity, which is tantamount to a stifling of discussion on the subject renders the efforts of individuals in this essential direction futile, and a waste of time; hence, Comrades—"Ave atque vale!"

Yours for a United working class,  
A. SILVEY-REARDON.

And so I became a member of the Australian Socialist Party. I was not acquainted with much of its history at the time, and I thank Mr. Judd for acquainting me with it. This I am acquainted with, however, that the A.S.P. has the true-going revolutionary spirit, and I challenged any member of the S.L.P. to show me one point in connection with it where it fails to come up to the requis-

itally control the birth rate, and are rather inclined to encourage birth by means of baby bonuses, the prohibition of illegal operations, and the sale of birth preventatives. "How different to the aborigines."

In Australia the savage dies, while the civilised prosper. The boomerang and spear surrender, but the steam engine and iron plough conquer.

The savage roams naked and unshamed of his or her body. Just imagine a white person walking naked down the Block—Melbourne's fashionable promenade!

Among the blacks, with their group form of marriage, one man is permitted sexual intercourse with a number of women, one woman with a number of men. Should a white Australian become intimate with more than one woman, the dear old ladies of the Methodist Church go into hysterical fits of horror. Our maiden aunts exclaim, "How dare you, sir!" Mothers hold their breath and call their daughters indoor, while respectable old men say he is no blasted good.

A civilised person who goes through the form of marriage with more than one person is generally forced to take up residence in a "Homing Home"—the gaol. In similar circumstances the blackfellow retains his freedom.

True, we have in this article dealt only with the two extremes of society. But whether we examine the whole of the ages or part it will be found that the prevailing mode of production, at any time and all time, is both the elixir and the poison of social systems. The tools of production impregnate society with a young social order. In the process of midwifery the mother is killed. The new born child laughs at its mother's lifeless corpse. In amazement at its ancestor's foolishness, cries, "Well, you were a senseless old hag."

## Unity Debate.

### Did the S. L. P. Fail to show a Spirit of Unity?

its standard of a straight-out Revolutionary Socialist organisation. I refer you to the paper of the Party, and I challenge any man to show me an organ higher in tone than the "International Socialist," or one of a higher educational value, in the world of Socialist periodicals. When I listened to Com. Judd I was interested in what he had to tell us of our past history; I was particularly struck with one peculiar idea. If I am correct, Mr. Judd was originally brought up in the Christian faith, has been deeply inured in that faith, for I am told that devoted Christians entertain a belief in a certain affair they call God, who kept a sort of zoological garden out Jerusalem way, and placed therein an Adam and an Eve, who somehow committed a sin, and through all generations since then. He practically accuses all people born on this earth of being guilty and responsible for the original, just as Comrade Judd blames the present members of the A.S.P. for the past history of the organisation.

No one regrets more than I do that there should be two Parties calling themselves Socialists in Australia, but the fact remains that there are two parties in spite of everything which must have transpired in the past. The A.S.P. is now a concrete movement of young and virile workers, carrying out the propaganda of the Party. It is a larger body than the S.L.P., and I claim its membership has more vigour and enthusiasm.

In March of this year the Party did me the honor of electing me to be General Secretary, and I decided, now that I was in the A.S.P., that I would do my best as an individual, at all times and in all places, to bring about the Unity which is so much to be desired. On the 31st March of this year I wrote, under instructions from my Executive, to the S.L.P. in these terms:—

31st March, 1917.

Mr. J. O. Moroney, Gen. Sec., S.L.P.

Dear Comrade,

In accordance with a resolution carried at our recent Conference, I have been instructed to approach you with a view to once again opening Unity negotiations. You will, I think, agree that Unity of the Revolutionary forces of Australia has never been so essential as at the present time. You will, therefore, I trust, bring this matter before your Executive and acquaint me with its decision.

On behalf of the Central Executive,  
A.S.P.,

A. S. REARDON,  
Gen. Sec.

To this I received a reply assuring me that the S.L.P. were prepared to consider the question of Unity, and suggested making arrangements for a date on which the matter could be gone into. There is no need to read that letter. (A voice: "Yes, yes.") It is not necessary to read it now. I may do so later on. Now, there are two points I want to touch upon. The first is the letter I read just now and the second is the following letter:—

A.S.P. Central Executive,

11th June, 1917.

Mr. J. O. Moroney, Gen. Sec., S.L.P.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of the 29/5/17 was considered at the last meeting of the above, and the following motion was carried: "That the Secretary be instructed to inform the S.L.P. that as they have failed to show a spirit of Unity, it is futile to proceed with negotiations."

Yours fraternally,

A. S. REARDON, Gen. Sec.

Now, if Com. Judd had done what I would have liked him to have done, he would have dealt with the history of the organisation at this stage. I intend to confine myself to the story of the matter between these two points. We have been accused by Com. Judd of some awful misdeeds in the past, but surely when the S.L.P. agreed to meet us in order to discuss the matter of Unity it was tantamount to admitting that we were proper and reputable people to deal with, and, if not, his statement of the S.L.P. that they were desirous of Unity was all cant and humbug. (Hear, hear.)

Well, this conference was arranged, and

we went along to the S.L.P. There had been trouble over the name of the United Party at previous conferences, and they had agreed to change the name. We came to the conclusion, that as unity was necessary and desirable amongst Socialists, that we would do everything to facilitate the business, and straightway offered to accept without question the name S.L.P. We met in an honorable way, and said we were prepared absolutely to drop the name of A.S.P., which you must admit was no trivial offer; for although there is perhaps nothing in a name, there are people who might perhaps see some little sentimental value in it. When we got that settled, with the concurrence of the S.L.P., certain minor difficulties arose. Questions as to the name of the paper and so on. Com. Judd will bear witness to the fact that I put the position this way:—"If you will agree to unite upon the basis of revolutionary Socialism, and we are prepared to accept the name of S.L.P., then in a spirit of unity will you not accept the name of International Socialist for the paper of the United Party?" It was a far greater thing for us to drop the name of our party than for the S.L.P. to change the name of their paper, and we asked them in the same spirit of compromise and fair play. The position I put is this: and you will see the sweet reasonableness of it. I said: "We speak as individual members of the A.S.P.; we have members in all our branches. We are prepared to unite on any basis, but we must consider our membership. We are not here to make unity absolutely, but to devise a basis upon which such unity can be effected. This basis will have to be submitted to a referendum vote of the whole of the membership. It is therefore essential that we should submit to them, in the interest of a speedy unity, proposals that they are most likely to endorse. What proposition could be fairer than the one we submitted? We are already giving up the name of the Party, and you desire us to ask our members to give up everything. If you will meet us in a spirit of unity, and we can submit a give and take proposal, if you will accept the title of our paper, all will be well. The S.L.P. demurred and objected. Did that show a "spirit of unity" for a start? Other meetings were held after that and eventually the S.L.P. asked us to receive a delegate in order that he might state their case against retaining the name of the paper. We immediately said we would, and Com. Judd came along at a later date and lectured us on our awful past. After more deliberation the following proposal was put forward:—

"That we accept the name S.L.P., provided the name of the paper be the 'International Socialist.' As an alternative, we suggest that the name of the paper be decided by a vote of the membership after Unity has been accomplished."

(Com. McDonald, member of the A.S.P. Executive, delegate to unity conference: "How did the vote go?") It has not been submitted to the ballot, but that was the proposition. We would unite first as the S.L.P. and let united party decide the name of the paper. Was that a fair offer to come from the A.S.P.? (Yes and No.) We waived aside every objection, and we got this letter in reply:—

29th May, 1917.

Mr. A. S. Reardon, Gen. Sec. A.S.P.

Dear Comrade,—

Yours of the 18th inst., forwarding decision of your Executive on the Unity question—"That the name of the paper be the 'International Socialist,' and in the event of Unity being brought about, the matter be submitted to the whole of the membership"—was considered by the General Executive of the above party, when the following resolution was adopted, and which I was instructed to forward to you—"That this Executive disagrees with the proposal of the A.S.P., and proposes that in the event of Unity, both the names of the 'International Socialist' and 'The People' be dropped, and a new name submitted for the official organ of the party."

Yours fraternally,

J. O. MORONEY, Gen. Sec.

We offered to unite with the S.L.P., but they deliberately refused to unite, on essential and vital principles, and made  
Continued on Page 4.



## Unity Debate

Continued from Page 3.

minor details the stumbling block. After all is said and done we are only human. We went into the question with the S.L.P. with the idea of endeavouring to the utmost to bring about one solid organisation, but were met with opposition and indifference. On the 11th of June I was instructed to write to the S.L.P., and this is the letter:—

A.S.P. Central Executive,  
11th June, 1917.  
Mr. J. O. Moroney,  
Gen. Sec. S.L.P.

Dear Comrade,—

Your letter of the 29/5/17 was considered at last meeting of the above, and the following motion was carried: "That the Secretary be instructed to inform the S.L.P. that as they have failed to shew a spirit of unity it is futile to proceed with negotiations."

Yours fraternally,  
A. S. REARDON, Gen. Sec.

Was our statement in accord with the facts. (A voice, No.) I have yet to learn where we went astray, and Mr. Judd has failed throughout his speech in shewing us. We did everything that was possible, but they failed to meet us in the same spirit, and on them must rest the onus of the organisation not being united.

Let us answer Mr. Judd's arguments, especially in regard to the W.I.L.U., the Original I.W.W. Club, existed purely as a propagandist club. Year in and year out it carried on its operations. Former members inside the A.S.P. got together—I was not amongst them—I have enough criminal records against me without that, if it be criminal. They got together and decided that if ever there was a time for One Big Industrial organisation, it was ripe. Doing the right thing, they sent to American headquarters of the W.I.L.U. for a charter, and the fact that the headquarters responded to their application, is proof positive that they had taken up the right position. The members of the Newtown Branch A.S.P. got into that organisation. All the more credit to the A.S.P. for having developed men with the intellect to realise its industrial position and possibilities, and to build up an organisation where it had not existed before. With regard to Com. Ray Everitt getting the Charter from America by means of false representation, that has yet to be proven. Com. Judd asked me if I know of any worse action than that of Com. Everitt and others. Yes, the refusal of the S.L.P. to unite.

As to no one suggesting a better name for the paper than "Revolutionary Socialist," we suggested a better name for the paper, the name that makes its objects clear to everyone, we suggested the "International Socialist," but they did not except it.

Reverting to the history of the doings of members in the past, it might have been bad, but the party to-day has outgrown all that and we bear favorable comparison with any Socialist party in the world. I think we have cleared it of late, and I am of the opinion that the S.L.P. completely failed to meet us in a spirit of unity, and that the negotiations were utterly futile. In conclusion I may say that I am out for action, and have one object, my own emancipation. I cannot get that until the working class get theirs, and they cannot get theirs until there is one sound solid organisation, having for its purpose the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the creation of the "Commonwealth of Labor." I am up against anything that stands between that and myself, and henceforth any individual or any party that stands in the way of the closer organisation of the working class is one to which I am opposed.

Emancipation for the working class I repeat, and to hell with those who stand in the way of it.

(Continued next issue.)

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LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to become a subscriber.

## ESSAY COMPETITION.

## Poverty.

By THE PLUMBER.

At Richmond, Victoria, I see by the Plute press, they have established a Soup Kitchen where needy children may at dinner time be supplied with a basin of soup. The following extract is from an official report:—

"A little boy with his toes out at the boot, who asked for a second helping, when told that he could only be supplied once, said:— 'If you only knew, you would let me. I didn't have much breakfast, and I won't get much tea.'"

Think of it, a child, who should be so well fed and cared for that he could store up within his body the vital force for his productive life, pleading for a second basin of soup in order that the pang of hunger might be stayed for a time at least.

I have a vivid recollection of some allegedly well-meaning folk, who in my youth used to drop "a word in season," telling me that poverty was the direct result of intemperance, Extravagance, Gambling, and other such like deadly sins; but my youth had not merged into manhood before all Victoria's working-class was brought into the dire poverty that followed the "Bursting of the Land Boom."

In the days that followed I often saw men whom I had known to be hard workers and clean livers, standing at a large wooden trough at the rear of one of Melbourne's Coffee Palaces, waiting for the scraps of broken food from the Dining Room and Kitchen to be emptied into it in order that they might secure enough in the wild scramble that followed to keep life within their bodies.

How the women and children, dependent on at least some of these men, fared, I don't pretend to know.

Very shortly after this, the notorious "eight o'clock rush" was organised, and Soup Kitchens almost without number were in evidence, both in Melbourne and Suburbs.

This knocked the substance out of my mentor's teachings, and I concluded then, that they had surely been mistaken.

In later years I knew that they had lied to me. For poverty is not the result of unwisdom: it is the handmaid of the Capitalist form of Society.

Poverty of a class is essential to the Capitalist form of Society (production for profit) nay, in order that it may function successfully it creates poverty.

This in its turn favours the growth of class consciousness in the workers, who, working in conjunction with the economic conditions arising out of the capitalist system will bring about its destruction.

Side by side with capitalism, poverty must ever increase; until the economic conditions are produced that usher into the Co-operative Commonwealth, or, in other words, the Socialist form of Society, in which all production is for use, and not for profit as at present.

Are we to understand that only those who visit Soup Kitchens, etc., and seek relief are in poverty? Decidedly not.

The vast majority of the wage earning class of Australia are, in reality, in the poverty line.

The very basis of the living wage is a poverty basis—seeing that provision is made for a reward for labor that will just sustain life during the profit producing period.

Certain it is that any who are entirely dependent on the living wage can not make provision for periods of trade slackness or sickness, etc.

How many working class mothers, in spite of their heart's strong yearning to keep their daughters by their side, at the girls' most critical age, have to allow them to enter the factory, shop or office, simply because the few shillings they can earn are so urgently needed at home.

How many parents, at the outset of their son's career, have to ignore the lad's natural ability or inclination, and place him in an employment for which he is entirely unsuited; and at which he must become either a drudge or a failure, simply because the poverty of the parents compel them to make wage earners of their sons at the earliest age allowed by law.

Capitalistically caused poverty accounts in a very large measure for the size of the armies of fighting men in the voluntary enlistment countries.

It also is directly responsible for the vast

armies of prostitute women that can only exist under a capitalistic form of society.

The Bible student may possibly remind me that one has said: "The poor ye have always with you," but certain it is that He who is reputed to have uttered the words was fully aware of the evils of private ownership; and knew that while the system of private ownership, whether of land or of the tools of production existed, so would poverty increase and be ever more keenly and widely felt.

Seeing that poverty is the direct product of Capitalism, it will be destroyed only when the Capitalist State of Society is overthrown by the Class-Conscious Workers of the world, and a new system of society (the Socialist system) takes its place.

In that way there will be no children pleading, vainly, for another basin of charity soup, no parents mourning over sons in the fighting line, or over daughters, immured in the sweater's pen or brothel, for freedom will have entered upon her reign, and there will be equality of opportunity and justice for all.

In other words, the Socialist System of Society will be established, and those who are able and willing to perform socially-useful labor will receive the full reward of their labor instead of receiving one-fifth of its value as at present (the other four-fifths going to swell the dear, kind master's bank balance).

The armies of non-producers will be no longer possible, and rent, interest, profits and poverty will no longer exist, for the Socialist Form of Society will be world-wide, and under its rule there will be no place for these things.

Love of our fellow-man and of our sister-woman, will be the main-spring of all our actions, and we will labor "Each for all and all for each."

## "TO THE OPPRESSOR."

By BILLIE MITCHELL.

Who gave to you the right to say  
How I should live my life?  
How I shall work, when I shall play,  
Whom I shall take to "wife"?

Why shall I slave from dark to dark,  
To suit your jealous aim?  
"Are you my God?" Have you His mark,  
That thus my soul you claim?

Who gave to you the power to crush  
The weaklings in your grip?  
And every righteous cry to hush,  
With gaol or the whip?

Think you the blood that you have shed,  
Is paltry water spilt?  
Ah no, the blood upon your head  
To justice pleads its guilt.

But justice knows no mercy when  
He walks with perfect truth,  
Both you and yours in judgment then  
Shall die with all uncouth.

The only working class paper is a Socialist paper. The "International Socialist" is admittedly one of the best.

## ESSAY COMPETITION.

The October competitions were won by, W.W. and "The Plumber" on Poverty, and H. M. on How are the Working Class Exploited.

Essays published are not necessarily endorsed.

## ESSAY COMPETITION.

We have decided to give two prizes for the best two essays on two set subjects. The prize winners will have the choice of a book from the list that will be submitted to them.

The two subjects will be published in the first issue of each month, and the M.S.S. must reach this office before the end of the month.

The essays are to consist of not more than one thousand words.

Write clearly in ink and leave plenty of room for editing.

Head essay with "Essay Competition," followed by the subject.

The essays will be judged: 1st, according to matter; 2nd, on general structure. We are endeavouring to find thinkers, not grammarians.

The two subjects for this month are (1) Unemployment. (2) Thrift.

## TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

## BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed and forward same to this office.

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Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.  
All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

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LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth, 6/-; posted, 6/3.  
Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.  
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Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—E. Aylmer; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.  
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Right to be Lazy—P. Lafargue; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.  
Socialism the Goal of Civilisation—paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

## IMPORTANT

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

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